

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TEL AV 02069 01 OF 02 161615 Z

43

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 EUR-25 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-09

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12

T-03 GAC-01 OMB-01 AID-20 RSR-01 ADP-00 /140 W

----- 073867

R 161446 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7677

INFO AMEMBASSY AMNAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSAELEM

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 2069

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IS

SUBJECT: DAYAN MANEUVERINGS IN LABOR PARTY

SUMMARY: IN MARCH 14 SPEECH DAYAN SERVED NOTICE TO LABOR PARTY THAT HE WAS CONTINUING CAMPAIGN FOR VOTERS IN PARTY

PLATFORM ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND HINTED THAT IF HE WERE NOT SATISFIED, HE MIGHT NOT SERVE IN NEXT GOVT. DAYAN MADE VEILED ATTACK ON PRIMIN FOR MFT MAKING UP HER MIND ABOUT STAYING IN OFFICE AFTER ELECTIONS AND WARNED HE EXPECTED PARTY TO BE HONEST WITH VOTERS. HE REMINDED ISRAELIS OF SECURITY THREAT FROM POSSIBLE RETURN OF SOVIETS TO EGYPT AND REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT ARABS DO NOT WANT REAL PEACE. EMBASSY BELIEVES SPEECH WAS GIVEN FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS RATHER THAN AS FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT. DAYAN SEEMS TO BE TRYING TO SCARE LABOR PARTY, THROUGH THREAT OF RESIGNATION, INTO GIVING HIM HIS WAY. THREATS SHOULD MAKE LABOR PARTY MACHINERY, WHICH BY AND LARGE IS HOSTILE TO DAYAN, ALL THE MORE DETERMINED TO INDUCE MRS MEIR TO STAY ON AS PRIMIN. BUT IT STILL SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT DAYAN CAN CAJOLE PARTY INTO THE KIND OF RIGHT- WING PLATFORM HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE ON ISSUE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 TEL AV 02069 01 OF 02 161615 Z

OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER A THREE WEEK PAUSE, MOSHE DAYAN HAS REOPENED HIS PUBLIC CAMPAIGN AGAINST LABOR PARTY ESTABLISHMENT. PAUSE MAY HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO GIVE PRIMIN AN UNCLUTTERED STAGE FOR HER TALKS IN WASHINGTON, BUT IS MORE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN SIMPLY A PRUDENT LOW PROFILE WHILE LIBYAN PLANE TRAGEDY BLEW OVER. WHATEVER HIS REASONS FOR SILENCE, DAYAN HAS NOW SERVED NOTICE TO LABOR PARTY THAT HE WILL PURSUE HIS CAMPAIGN FOR CHANGES IN PARTY'S PLATFORM ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND EXPECTS TO WIN.

2. IN A SPEECH MARCH 14 BEFORE LABOR PARTY MOSHAV MOVEMENT DAYAN TOOK HIS NORMAL POTSHOTS AT PINHAS SAPIR, BUT MAJOR THRUST OF SPEECH SEEMED TO BE AIMED DIRECTLY AT PRIMIN HERSELF. DAYAN CALLED ON PARTY TO MAKE UP ITS MIND RIGHT NOW ( NOT THIS SUMMER) AS TO WHO WOULD LEAD IT INTO ELECTIONS AND HEAD GOI THEREAFTER, IN ORDER TO KNOW HOW TO FOCUS PARTY PLATFORM. DAYAN STRESSED PARTY MUST BE HONEST WITH ELECTORATE: " IF THE PLATFORM CALLS FOR LARGE- SCALE URBAN AND CHGQF JEW UTXSETZCE- MENT IN THE TERRITORIES, THEN IT MUST BE AEELENTED, OR WE HAVE TO SAY CLEARLY THAT SUCH SETTLEMENT WILL BE PREVENTED."

3. PRIMIN HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO MAKE FIRM STATEMENT AS TO WHETHER OR NOT SHE QELL SERVE AGAIN AS PRIMIN AFTER KNESSET ELECTIONS. IT HAS BEEN WIDELY ASSUMED THAT EVEN IF SHE DID SERVE, SHE WOULD STEP DOWN AFTER A YEAR OR SO, LEAVING FIELD OPEN TO VGNHAS SAPIR OR AN ALTERNATE MAPAI CANDIDATE. DAYAN IN EFFECT IS DEMANDING THAT PRIMIN FISH OR CUT BAIT AND THAT IF SHE AGREES TO CONTINUE, MOVE WILL NOT SIMPLYFIT MANEUVER TO EASE IN SAPIR OR OTHER LIKEMINDED DOVE. DAYAN ALSO CHALLENGING PRIMIN' S PRE- WASHINGTON VISIT STATEMENT THAT JEWS HAVE RIGHT TO SETTLE ANYWHERE IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. AT TIME, STATEMENT WAS WIDELY INTERPRETED AS MEANING THAT THOUGH ISRAEL HAS RIGHT, IT NEED NOT TAKE UP OPTION.

4. THAT DAYAN SPEECH WAS VEILED ATTACK ON PRIMIN SEEMS REASONABLE IN LIGHT OF COMMENTS BY LABOR PARTY SPOKESMAN RECENTLY MADE TO EMBOFF, SPOKESMAN SAID DAYAN WAS FURIOUS AT PRIMIN WHO QUIETLY HAS BEEN OUTMANEUVERING HIM. HE CLAIMED DAYAN FELT THAT AS A LEADER OF LABOR PARTY, HE HAD RIGHT TO HAVE A VOICE IN GOI INTERNAL POLICY AND PARTICULARLYIN INTERNAL LABOR PARTY  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 TEL AV 02069 01 OF 02 161615 Z

ORGANIZATIONAL AND PERSONNEL DECISIONS. SPOKESMAN COMMENTED THAT

DAYAN HAS INDEED BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY EXCLUDED FROM SUCH AFFAIRS AND THAT CONSCIOUSLY OR NOT, PRIMIN IS TO LARGE EXTENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS EXCLUSION.

5. DAYAN IN SPEECH, POINTED OUT CONSEQUENCES IF HE DOES NOT GET HIS WAY IN PARTY BY SAYING THAT QUESTION OF WHETHER HE WILL BE WILLING TO SERVE IN NEXT GOVT WILL DEPEND ON WHO PRIMIN IS AND NATURE OF PARTY PLATFORM. ON OTHER HAND, WHEN ASKED ABOUT STATE LIST PARTY'S CAMPAIGN TO MAKE DAYAN PRIMIN, HE CONFESSED HE LIKES " TO HEAR COMPLIMENTS. BUT I MUST MAKE IT CLEAR I HAVE NO INTENTION OF LEAVING THE LABOR PARTY." DAYAN THUS IS TRYING TO WALK THINK LINE OF LETTING THREAT OF HIS REFUSAL TO SERVE IN CABINET LOOM LARGE IN POLITICIANS' MINDS, WHILE NOT GIVING THEM AMMUNITION TO CHARGE DISLOYALTY TOWARD HIS PARTY.

6. EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS THAT DAYAN IS GETTING STRONG SUPPORT IN PURSUING ABOVE TACTIC FROM IMPORTANT DAYAN BACKER, TRANSPORT MINISTER SHIMON, PERES. PERES IS REPORTEDLY SUPPORTING STATE LIST CAMPAIGN BEHIND THE SCENES AND IS SPREADING IDEA THAT DAYN WILL QUIT IF PRIMIN DOES NOT SERVE FULL TERM AGAIN AND ON PLATFORM WHICH ACCOMMODATES DAYAN' S VIEWS, OR IF HER AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE AFTER ELECTIONS IS SIMPLY AN EASY WAY TO LET IN SAPIR. WE UNDERSTAND THAT IN SMALL RAFI FACTION PLANNING SESSION, PERES PAINTED GLOWING PICTURE OF DAYAN' S CHANCES IN ELECTIONS IF DAYAN WERE TO HEAD NEW POLITICAL PARTY IN OPPOSITION TO LABOR PARTY LED BY SAPIR. PERES REPORTEDLY SAID THAT DAYAN AND SAPIR WOULD JUST ABOUT SPLIT LABOR' S TRADITIONAL VOTE.

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 02069 02 OF 02 161639 Z

43

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 ADP-00 EUR-25 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14

USIA-12 T-03 GAC-01 OMB-01 AID-20 RSR-01 /140 W

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R 161446 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7678

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 2069

7. DAYAN ALSO REMINDED ISRAELIS IN HIS SPEECH THAT SECURITY IS TENUOUS AND BY INFERENCE THAT ISRAEL NEEDS MEN LIKE DAYAN AT HELM. DAYAN SAID: " THE SOVIET UNION HAS EXPERIENCED SOME DISAPPOINTMENTS WITH EGYPT, BUT THE PRESENT SITUATION CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AS A SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. IT IS NOT IMPLAUSIBLE THAT THE RUSSIANS MAY TRY TO RE- ESTABLISH THEIR POSITION IN EGYPT." HE ALSO REPEATED HIS BELIEF THAT ARABS ARE NOT READY FOR TRUE PEACE AND THAT IN ITS ABSENCE HE PREFERRED CONTINUATION OF STATUS QUO. ALTHOUGH DAYAN SPOKE ABOUT SECURITY AND ISRAEL' S POLICY IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, HE SAID LITTLE NEW, AND EMBASSY CONSIDERS SPEECH AS AIMED DIRECTLY AT LABOR PARTY AND DESIGNED FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS RATHER THAN EXTERNAL ONES.

8. DAYAN IS CONDUCTING A WELL ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN TO SCARE LABOR PARTY INTO GIVING HIM HIS WAY ON PARTY PLATFORM AND APPOINTMENTS, IN ORDER TO INCREASE HIS POWER BASE FOR SAKE OF TRY AT OBTAINING PRIME MINISTRY AT SOME FUTURE TIME. EMB DOES NOT BELIEVE HE HAS ANY INTENTION OF SPLITTING OFF FROM LABOR PARTY, EVEN IF SHIMON PERES BELIEVES IT IS A VIABLE OPTION. DAYAN FOLLOWED PERES OUT OF PARTY ONCE BEFORE AND SUFFERED FOR IT. HE IS UNLIKELY TO REPEAT MISTAKE. IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TEL AV 02069 02 OF 02 161639 Z

PERES HIMSELF REALLY BELIEVES DAYAN COULD HALVE LABOR PARTY ELECTORAL SUPPORT, GIVEN STRONG ISRAELI VOTER TRADITION OF NOT SWITCHING PARTIES. IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT PERES IS SIMPLY ADDING SOUND EFFECTS TO DAYAN CAMPAIGN. NEVERTHELESS, PARTY WILL NOT TAKE DAYAN THREATS LIGHTLY. PRESSURE ON PRIMIN TO CONTINUE AFTER ELECTIONS WILL BUILD IN LIGHT OF DAYAN MANEUVERS AND EVEN SOME HALF- HEARTED SUPPORTERS IN MAPAI, WHO WOULD PREFER SAPIR, ARE LIKELY TO JUMP ON BANDWAGON BEHIND MRS MEIR. FOR ALL THE MANEUVERING, LABOR PARTY IS IN END UNLIKELY TO REVISE ITS PLATFORM DRASTICALLY AND IS LIKELY AS IN PAST TO LEAVE UNSAID ITS POSITION ON MOST IMPORTANT AND DEVISIVE ISSUES.  
ZURHELLEN

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SECSTATE WASHDC INFO AMMAN  
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